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Alex, Welsh Dulles, Esq.,
Director,
2723, 1-st Street,
Washington 7,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

A certain time ago I have read in the Polish Daily-(Polish Emigration Paper)-about your action to prove that the USA's achievements regarding the Nuclear Weapons and also Missiles are giving full security in case of the Soviet aggression.

Here in England I am since years trying to influence the local Newspapers etc., in any possible ways to oppose the insecurity feelings which they so often express and which has grown up to a sort of Inferiority Complex regarding the Soviet chances in the Nuclear Age.

The main factor of this Inferiority Complex was the accepted by England (and also by many other Western Countries) fact that, the USSR is less vulnerable in the Nuclear Age, or in case of the Nuclear war.

In order to destroy or diminish this detrimental influence of the Russian theory regarding the alleged by them Invulnerability I have written just before the Geneva (Berlin) Conference a Draft Analysis to prove the contrary. I have then immediately submitted a copy of it to the Foreign Office here and also to the American Embassy with the request for perusal and assistance in publication of this brochure. I have also sent some copies to the American Newspapers, etc., but the result was none.

I could not continue my efforts in this respect as just when the Geneva Conference Started I was taken to the Hospital.

Fortunately enough the West was firm with the Russians and did not subdue to any of their views...but still the feeling of the Russian superiority regarding their "invulnerability" has not been destroyed although nearly everything what we do see now sufficiently proves that my thesis such as expressed in the "Draft Analysis" was absolutely right.

I am, therefore, submitting to you one copy of it with the request for perusal and assistance in publication or some other use which you would consider possible and advisable.

When I approached now again some publishers here they said:- "that it would not be good to publish my pamphlet as it would tease the Reds....in time when everything seems to go right now". x)

I disagree with that and think that in a few days time the atmosphere will change again and the "Inferiority Complex" may start to act again, especially because the myth about the Russian alleged invulnerability has not been destroyed.

I would like to add that within these 12 years I was often sending to Mr. John, F. Dulles, your Brother, many copies of my letters which I was writing to the Foreign Office here regarding the USSR, and the so called Satellite Countries and I have received an acknowledgement from His personal Secretary on His behalf.

I must say that I could not agree more with the views of

x) coming elections.

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There are so many speculations nowadays regarding the Nuclear War and its consequences that it seems useful to look at them and to analyse at least this one which in spite of its Russian origin has nearly officially been accepted by the West.

Starting then from the speculation as such one should realise that although this method is everyday winning more and more enthusiasts who are ready to accept it as a reliable one, still the visions of future which it creates are very seldom similar to the picture of reality.

Everyone speculation regarding the Nuclear War bases on:-

- some knowledge of technical and scientifical elements,
- general knowledge,
- imagination.

It is quite clear then that the accuracy of any vision of future and its similarity to the picture of reality will depend not only on the perfect knowledge of all elements but also, and first of all, on the sequence of priority given to these elements according to their effective values. But even if we based a speculation on both the views of the best experts and on those who would give a correct advice regarding the mentioned sequence of priority which, as we shall try to show later, is often more important than the former one, it would always remain certain number of ignored, underrated or even unknown elements which might take a sudden and leading role and cause that the created in this way vision of future would not be similar to the picture of reality but in many cases just reversed or opposite.

It is even worse with imagination as it is often influenced by some irrational or emotional background as well as by some conscient or unconscious tendency and, as such, imagination should never be regarded as a reliable screen the more so that it is nearly impossible to find any means for testing it in a satisfactory way.

Bearing in mind all these serious weak-points of speculations and especially of these which refer to the Nuclear War, we should always put a very big question mark on the resulting from them visions of future and also on the so called theories which base on them.

One of them:-

THE RUSSIAN THEORY OF HER NATURAL ADVANTAGES OVER THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN CASE OF THE NUCLEAR WAR

should, therefore, be a subject of a very accurate analysis the more so that, as we said before, it has nearly been accepted by Western Experts and Politicians, and also because its detrimental influence creates a shadow of insecurity which one tries in vain to diminish now by revealing certain recent achievements of the West in the field of Nuclear Weapons.

When thinking about this Theory of the Russian Advantages one should never forget that it has been created by the USSR and spread-up by all its possible means, by its "Best-Friends"-some fellows-citizens of the Western Countries who were making a real panic about it, by the Western Press* and without any criticism of their own, and at last, by the Russian V-th Columns and their victims who reside and act in the Western World. Such is the background of this Theory, and one can not exclude that also the present 'Berlin-Crisis' would not be one of the tests to find how much the West is already influenced by it, and what concessions would be given to Moscow as a result of it.

The most terrific Russian Propaganda for the sake of their Theory which is still winning the West, this is another reason which should encourage

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Russian speculation.

Before we submit our analysis to the Readers we would like to state that the Russian Theory completely ignores the most fundamental principles about which we mentioned before.

And this by:-

1)-not taking in account, but just hiding the most essential groups of elements,

2)-ascribing to many elements obviously wrong effective values and deliberately using such sequence of priority of these elements which would enable them to prove their Theory,

3)-using the same vocabulary and names to denote things which have absolutely different meanings in USSR than in the Western World.

This may also mean that, most probably, the "motto" about the Russian Invulnerability has been made first, and the speculation itself was "elaborated" later and in such way as to prove the Theory in question.

In spite of that the whole Theory shakes together with its all "dogmas & truizms" whenever one only starts to complete the number of its elements, to put them in the right and logic sequence, and to analyse them. The fact that just at the same time Mr.K., is introducing with the great speed some very essential alterations into the Russian structural and even ideological conceptions (Decentralisation, etc)-this is an additional factor which means that the Russians made for their own use quite a good analysis of their Theory, and that they are rather frightened by its results.

Let us start then our analysis bearing in mind the mentioned above points.

As to 1)- The Russian Theory purposely ignores the question of the:-

POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL & SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE USSR and the resulting ability or disability regarding the Nuclear War. The Russians use to call their structure the most natural one, but we can not accept it as such, because it has been introduced by violence and force of minority. We know, and this is our first remark, that any constructions which are built-up by force of arms of minority are more susceptible than any other ones. We call the Russian construction: A Top-Heavy one. It is as centralised as one can only do it, and the mentioned before fact that Mr.K. is making certain attempts to introduce some changes-(decentralisation, increase of initiative, etc)-to meet more easily the danger of the Nuclear War, there is still in the USSR ONLY ONE REAL CENTRE OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL DISPOSITION, or ONLY ONE PLANNING & EXECUTIVE CENTRE. As also by the recent attempts of 'democratisation' of their system they are just following one of the Western principles, it only proves that they consider the Western Patterns as less vulnerable not only during the Nuclear War, but also during the Nuclear War possibility period. Their over-centralisation affecting all plannings, impossibility of improvisation and initiative at all lower levels (constantly persecuted during 40-years)- and their most terrific and proverbial bureaucracy, these are their NATURAL VULNERABLE POINTS and not NATURAL ADVANTAGES. That is why the Russians, who know perfectly well about this STRUCTURAL DISABILITY of USSR in case of the Nuclear War, purposely hide this group of elements and place at the top of their list the Question of the Density of Population.

Contrary to the Russian Top-Heavy structure the West represents a Top-Light one, which is flexible, spontaneous and decentralised, and by that less vulnerable. If necessary, and subject to even very heavy casualties, this structure enables the creation of as many Disposition Centres as one would only need to carry on. And the Western "to carry on" -does not

mean to secure this or another ~~Party's~~ ^{domination} may be difficult ^{Approved For Release 2003/05/05 : CIA-RDP80R01731R000300040005-4} during the peace-time, but it means to maintain certain level of the civilised nation and its most natural form, the form of a State. This word, however, means something entirely different in the USSR than in the West, and we shall come to the resulting from it consequences when we explain it in our Para 3. To close the remarks on this group of elements, which are of such importance that they alone should determine whether the Russian Theory is right or not, one should add that to destroy this One Russian Disposition Centre, or its few splits created now, one does not need any great quantity of nuclear bombs and missiles to stop the whole Soviet War Machinery, whereas one should need hundreds of times more of these bombs and missiles to destroy the whole West with its ability for creation of Disposition Centres, which if necessary could immediately replace the destroyed ones. On the other hand the Reds would not have time and means enough to perform such operation having been deadly crippled or even destroyed at the very beginning of it. The Russians must fully realise this point...as the mentioned alterations which they have recently initiated confirm it. The question whether these alterations would work for or against them, and whether they will find that to eliminate Vulnerability in the Nuclear Age means...to accept Western Patterns, and to resign from the power of minority...this is another thing.

As to 2)- In their Propaganda regarding the Nuclear War the Russians and their Agents give full priority to elements which deal with Density of Population and Casualties. When one connects these two things together and says that as the Western Density of Population is greater than in the USSR also the Casualties must be greater in case of the Nuclear War...the effect of the concocted in this way argument must be great too, and the screen of imagination may really build the most fantastic vision of future. But when we look better at this concoction we shall realise that one should not simplify things like that. This argument involves three quite different questions:-a)-Question of Density as such, -b)-Question of Population and its sense and role in case of the Nuclear War, and c)-Question of Casualties.

As to a)-Density:- If we measure the distances between Russian towns and their Industrial Centres and compare them with the distances between the Western Countries only, which form certain coalition, we see that the Density conceived in this way WORKS AGAINST USSR- and this in proportion of about 10 to 1- and such Rate of Density Proportion should be applied to the Question of Vulnerability or Insecurity.

As to b)-Population- This word again means something quite different in USSR than in the Western Countries (see Para 3)- And the same Rate of Density Proportion (10:1) is proposed here as the Western Populations live in many countries, miles and miles away one from another. What should be emphasized here is the fact that the Nuclear War is waged more by a State as such, together with its natural organs, than by the population as such. When a "State"-such as this of the USSR-is REDUCED TO A FORM OF ONE PARTY CENTRE ONLY-this sort of a "State"- may be easily destroyed and the whole body paralysed.

As to c)-Casualties- A similar Rate of the Density Proportion (10:1) should be applied here as well. The casualties which would be split up amongst so many Western Countries one would have to SUMMARISE in the USSR. And this FACT, as far as Russians are concerned, may nearly entirely deprive them of any natural advantages usually available for one who acts by surprise.

Thus, even the action by surprise seems not to give any sufficient security to the USSR and to its Governors who do not have any real links with the not existing there natural organs of a fully developed State.

In their own most secret plannings these Government and their Party do not endeavour to save their population at all as they know that with greater or lesser casualties it will survive just as German population did. But what they want to save and preserve is their Party Centre and only this is a matter of their real worry, for which they can not find any satisfactory solution and any security at all.

As to 3)- Bearing in mind the value of this point (Vocabulary & Names) regarding the Russian Theory and the resulting from it intentional misconceptions we have put this Para on the third place. In spite of that, however, one should realise that as regards some other matters, e.g. some future negotiations between the USSR and the West, or simply the question of understanding one another, this point should no doubt, be always considered as No.1.

One must realise then that there is the greatest difference between the USSR and the West regarding the meaning and the real sense of such words as:-State, Nation or Nations composing the whole, Populations(s) etc., etc.,

It is enough to say that such State with its natural organs and functions which has been created in the West during centuries, and in a course of evolution and constant improvements, does not exist in the USSR, or that the USSR is not such a State. If it was anything similar in Russia of 1914 to the Western conceptions of a State, this has been completely destroyed by the Communists and NOT REPLACED BUT REDUCED TO THE LEVEL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANISATION ONLY, and to the Soviet Party aims. Thus, instead of Natural State's Organs one can see there the Party's Limbs, as they are completely deprived of any own initiative, etc.

As regards nations composing the present Russian Imperium, we do not hear about them any more, But still they are there, And the fact that we do not hear about them does not necessary mean that they have lost their own quite natural and national tendencies which are not the same as these of the Pure Russians or Moscovites.

Population. In the USSR we should rather speak about populations. But this is not the most essential. The most important difference between the word 'Population' in the USSR and all Western Countries results from the fact that the word 'Population' in the USSR denotes all non-party-members. Considering that the Communist Party members compose 6% of the whole of 200.mil. it means that the Russian 'State'- has about 12.mil. of citizens, and that the remnant of 188 mil. are just beyond the 'State'. These 188 mil. of people do have some very hard work to perform...but they do not feel responsible for the 'State'- at all as they do not enjoy full privileges such as granted to all Party members. In the Western Countries one does not even see this sort of 'population'. The real State absorbs everybody in the same way and grants all possible privileges to every-one which creates the most tremendous machinery with its gigantic possibility and power of life and action and also raises it nearly above any vulnerability level. This level may be lowered more or less but it seems that it could not be completely destroyed by any military action. This is the greatest difference and the weakest-point in the Russian Theory just at its roots. Germany survived the War. But what is left from the Nazi Party and its Disposition Centre ? Never the history of this World proved better during the last War that the motto:- "L'Etat c'est moi"- was wrong.

Russia will definitely survive the Nuclear War, but it seems more than doubtful that the USSR would.

Summing up ~~Appended For Release 2003/05/05 : CIA-RDP80R01731R000300040005-4~~ ties are greater or lesser seems to be immaterial when one realises that the Western remnants would always be in a better position to destroy the enemy than these of Russia which, once the Soviet Centre is destroyed, would lose any interest in any further action. This seems to be the best and the most right argument against those who raise the question of casualties and especially when one is trying to give to it the value of the greatest importance. There is not the number of casualties which determines on Victory or Defeat, but the quality of those who survive.

And now some few words about the "Russian so Powerful Conventional Forces" another "legend & dogma" -nearly accepted by the West.

During the peace-time they really seem to be of the very great value. When at home they may not cost too much, and if necessary be used to crush some local up-risings within their own borders or in the so called "Satellite Countries". To use them, however, very far away from their bases, and especially when the Nuclear Weapon may start to work, these Forces may become to be too excessive a burdon and too dangerous one. Again, when the USSR's Disposition Centre is crippled or destroyed the Russian Forces may be unable to develop any real initiative in such way as these of NATO or of any of the Western States. It is enough to say that Gen. Zukov (and his Staff) who was good for Stalin, was not good at all for Mr. K., and was to be replaced because of the constant fear in the Kremlin that one day the whole Forces may well turn against the Top-Heavy Party Disposition Centre and destroy it. This is not a speculation but fact that since then the Red Forces are subject of such changes as to make them more similar to the Western ones and more on the democratic principles. But what is the use of it when the whole system is not yet such, or when these changes may happen to be slower or quicker than these achieved in the re-organisation of the whole construction of the USSR. Another danger and another experiment. The Western Forces are an instrument of their States and ~~Marx~~ Nations and in any circumstances will easily find their way to defend their Countries. The Red ones..they were so far an instrument of the Communist Party Disposition Centre, and they still are, and even of one man. (Stalin). What may happen when this one man is dead during full action time or when Disposition Centre is destroyed ? No one knows! But one thing seems to be sure that the greater these Forces are the greater surprise they may cause and the greater difficulties and troubles. The Russian Forces of 1916 made such surprise although they have still been on their own territory, and this happened because they did not have any proper links with their Command nor with their Nation either. The same may happen now

as the situation of the Red Forces is pretty similar. It is true that they were quite different during the second part of the War No.2., but it started as a self-preservation movement against extermination, and also because of the diminishing power of the Germans which has been caused by many factors which had nothing to do with the Russian merits. The Russians themselves used to say that should Hitler adopt another policy on the occupied territories the Germans would be treated there as liberators rather than aggressors.

As regards so called "Satellite Forces"- the question mark here should be even greater. The present Polish Forces refused to be under command of Marshal Rokossovsky and his Russian Staff even during the peace-time, although he was a Pole by origin and birth. Would they like, the Polish Forces, to fight against the West and the Western Civilisation to which

..they belong, and this to stabilise the Soviet domination at the time when it would just start to shake, and at the time which would be offering to these Forces the only chance for liberation of their Country ? It is more than doubtful! The history of Poland and of Polish Legions who after 150 years of occupation of Poland knew what to do...may well serve as a good answer. And this Soviet domination over the Eastern Part of the Globe will definitely shake when the Nuclear Weapon is used. The whole World will shake too, but still the chance to survive for the USSR, as such, and for the Western States with their natural democratic structures will be quite different and very much for the favour of the West.

It remains to say that we have purposely left aside all technical questions as the level of the development of the Nuclear Weapons seems to be nearly equal on both sides, the Eastern and the Western. But even if it was not, even if the Reds were more successful in this field, nothing seems to change the fact that these groups of elements which were the matter of this Draft-Analysis they will decide on the final success in case of the Nuclear War. And it should not be any doubts that once the Nuclear War between ~~the~~ Russia and the West is on..the USSR would never survive it, provided of course, that the West will be united in the full sense of this word, for.. the better position of the West does not only result from the structure of any particular Western State, but first of all from the Structure of the Western Coalition which the Western States form. This Structure of the West only may fully secure the West, and this is the main factor of the Western Invulnerability.

And those who in this or another way act against this unity of the West do not work for the Victory of the Western Family of Countries. On the contrary, they do work for the only chance of the USSR to win... which may only come when this unity of the West is destroyed.

If we would still have any doubts regarding the final success in the future struggle we should always refer ourselves to the most superior element of this matter, the one which is also ignored by the Russian Theory, and this is the Human Spirit. This Spirit which invented the method to split-up the atom..must be much more powerful than the blind energy. And this Spirit will definitely win at the end provided that it will really be human. And we, the Western, should not have doubts which system is human, this one which bases on slavery and forced labour camps...or this which proclaims and achieves liberty and freedom.

This will decide on Victory.